The CRISIS

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Langston Hughes Speaks

Stemming The Tide

ALFREDA L. MADISON

James E. McGirt — Tar Heel Poet

JOHN W. PARKER

To Crisis Subscribers and Readers

The June and July Issues of the Crisis are combined in one Issue, June-July, out July 1

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PLEASE DO NOT BE UPSET WHEN YOU FAIL TO RECEIVE YOUR JUNE ISSUE ON JUNE 1

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The August and September Issues, our Annual Educational Number, are also a combined Issue, August-September, out September 1

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Walter White, Carl Murphy

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ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY *backs up the NAACP* 100 *per cent. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP regional secretary, accepts check from C. J. Greene, district manager, covering Association memberships for the fifty-one employees of Atlanta Life's district office in Birmingham, Alabama. The* 1953 *membership campaign of the Birmingham branch is now under way.*

■ About life, progress, and politics in Nigeria, West Africa

Nigeria in Transition

By Ndukwe Egbonu

INTRODUCING an African country to an American public is a task which challenges performance. To write upon this subject is to remind oneself of the story of an English lady who, when she heard Nigeria mentioned at a tea-party, remarked that it was indeed a beautiful creeper. This confusion of Nigeria with *wisteria* is a story of a half-century ago. Imperial powers of Europe had completed the partitioning of Africa. British empire-builders were busily tightening their grip on England's huge acquisitions. Nigeria, probably the most potential of John Bull's spheres, had come to be table talk in the more colonially conscious English circles, even at tea-parties. But as yet the British public in general knew very little of the territory, which was later to become popularly recognized as "the India of West Africa."

Today the intelligence of the average American about this so-called protectorate of imperial Great Britain is almost on a par with that of the lady at the tea-party. How often do people in this country confuse Liberia or Algeria with Nigeria? It is even still customary to identify a Nigerian with a barbarian. To the grossly misinformed, these terms are synonymous.

Yet there is an ever-growing number of Americans who are eager to obtain first-hand information about the ancestral home of some twelve or more millions of their fellow citizens. The trend of events in the black man's continent has sharpened this curiosity during recent years. This developing interest is rather encouraging. The new spirit of inquiry which it has evoked betrays a change of attitude on the part of Americans toward Africa. It is a change of heart that may well lead to a better and closer relation between a reviving Old World and a youthful new nation. To the end that this new international spirit may grow unimpeded, the new African is anxious to establish a friendly understanding with the people of America.

NDUKWE EGBONU, *a Nigerian of the Ibo people, is finishing up his studies at Columbia University, New York City.*

More than any other portion of Africa, Nigeria is perhaps a tempting field for this experiment in international good will. Hence it is to this emerging new nation that the writer invites his reader to accompany him on an imaginary friendly visit. Comparatively speaking, this growing daughter of mother Africa is a vast country whose national heart today throbs with hope and vitality. With its adjoining United Nation's Trust Territory, Cameroons, also under British control, its area is 373,000 square miles.

LARGER THAN TEXAS

In size, therefore, Nigeria is about one-and-one-half times the size of Texas, or more than the combined area of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal; or, again, it is equal to the total area of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Indiana. Its present population is above thirty millions, of which about 14,000 are foreigners. The aliens include British administrative officers, European merchants and missionaries, some Asiatics, and a few Americans. The density figure of eighty persons per square mile compares favorably with that of the United States at fifty persons or the Soviet Union at twenty-three persons to a square mile.

For centuries the climate of the West African coast has been the bugbear of the western man. Even in this atomic age, the myths associated with it continue to haunt the intending American visitor to that region. What with the tales of casual travelers and what with the fantastic jungle movies, the credulous sicken at the mere name of the country. Probably no part of the world has been more anathematized in terms of its natural phenomena. Yet, as an English writer once truthfully remarked, it has never ceased "to cast its spell over men and to attract them to" its shores.

It is consoling, however, that nowadays visitors to Nigeria no longer worry about the local climate and its much-talked-of evil effects. Those fictive days are no more, when "well-meant offers of patent medicines" and "portable coffins" were said to be urged as indispensable paraphernalia for anyone arranging a trip to "the white man's grave." Today, however, it requires vigorous protests to stem the influx of Europeans. All that can be said about the Nigerian climate is that it is tropical. Like the temperate and other climates, it has its characteristic peculiarities. For the indigenous elements of the one, life in the other entails a process of adjustment. There are mosquitoes, and they still carry the germ of malaria fever. But, thanks to modern medical science, it is easy to protect oneself against their menace.

It has been the general impression of Americans that most of Africa is jungle, whatever the term denotes and connotes. Upon our arrival in Nigeria, however, we shall discover that only a narrow coastal belt is really densely forested. The dominant vegetation is tropical grassland, richly studded with tree clusters. The northern border, to be sure, is a semi-desert or scrubland. In places the scenery is dull and monotonous; in others, it is simply beautiful. For

the lover of nature, the country is a veritable green-house emblematic of African silvan beauty. Moreover, the leafy mangroves that fringe the repulsive swamps of the Niger Delta, the stately oil-palm of commerce, the graceful mahogany, the symbolic ebony, the lordly, spreading baobab —all these are not mere jungle, but a part of Nature's inexhaustible vegetable gift to Nigeria, which has been the envy of covetuous people of much less blessed lands.

ISLAND CITY

In this typical black man's country we land. At Lagos, the capital, begins our orientation to Nigerian life, amazingly diversified and strangely elusive to the stranger. This island city, proudly set on the Atlantic coast in the Gulf of Guinea, boasts of more than 400,000 inhabitants, including its suburban population. Eko (ancient name of Lagos) is impressive in its modernity. The island section is chokingly congested. Throngs hurriedly push their way through its narrow streets, some of which are flanked by open, filth-laden, evil-smelling gutters that do no credit to the nation's capital. Along the Marina, Eko's Fifth Avenue, an almost endless chain of neat department stores presses home to the visitor the unmistakable presence of foreign commercial exploitation on a huge scale.

Its many shortcomings notwithstanding, Lagos remains one of the bright spots, and by far the busiest center, in a country largely underdeveloped. Here, in the capital, is the source of all the light and leading of Nigerian nationalism, of inspiration to a people witnessing an era of constitutional change that holds trembling in the balance the shape of things to come. Here, too, is the fountain head of all the major political parties. It was at Lagos in 1923 that the late Herbert Macaulay —a name that strikes one as non-Nigerian — the country's "elder statesman," founded the National Democratic Party. This party still survives, but it has never succeeded in becoming really national in any sense; for its activities have never at any time been felt outside the confines of Lagos.

It has been a vote-capturing machinery for the city, in a country which, until 1951, had sent only four elected members—three for Lagos and one for Calabar—to its so-called Legislative Council. The rest of the Council's members were appointed by the British Governor of Nigeria. But this limitation in the character of the country's first political party does not detract from the fact that for a quarter of a century its founder remained Nigeria's most outstanding personality; and dying in 1946, this father of the Nigerian political movement passed the torch of nationalism on to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, to whom reference will be made again.

PAROCHIAL NATIONALISM

This parochial nationalism of the capital was destined to only a decade of brief existence. It ended when, in the late thirties, the Lagos Youth Movement, organized in 1933, became the Nigerian Youth Movement. Thus was initiated the first attempt to unify the country for the impending, if inevitable, common struggle against oppressive

foreign rule. Little, however, did the Movement realize at the onset the forces that it was up against. For one thing, it was still Lagosian in character. Its leaders, though composed of middle-class intellectuals, were comparatively younger elements in a society where the self-seeking, veteran politicians saw nothing anomalous in being identified as Britishers, or in earning knighthood at the pleasure of British monarchs.

Besides the reactionary attitude of some pro-British aristocrats of Lagos, there was also the vicious spirit of communalism which Nigeria shares with India. For the first time since the 1890's when the present national boundaries were arbitrarily fixed by the principal imperial powers—Great Britain, France and Germany—the elites of the two rival ethnic groups, Ibo and Yoruba, met on a common ground for political action. The educationally backward, conservative Moslem North was still out of the picture in the gathering storm. Socially, economically and educationally, the Yorubas were far ahead of any other language group. In politics, they played a leading role.

The backward Ibos were fast picking up—perhaps too fast and too aggressive in tendency to proceed much further without alarming the leading West. Dormant prejudices, more social than religious, were coming alive to widen the rift. In the face of these realities, the NYM began to disintegrate until it shrunk again into an organization of a local Yoruba faction.

Meanwhile Nigeria had discovered a new leader in the person of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. In certain American circles this name is quite familiar. During his student days in the United States, his fellow students simplified his surname and called him "Zik." Today millions in West Africa endearingly call him Zik—a name that has a magical effect on all those who have faith in his program of African resurgency. Even now *Zikism* is a philosophy which sums up his ideals. In order the more effectively to give direction to this new doctrine of renascent Africa, Zik in 1938 began the publication of his first newspaper, *West African Pilot*. The paper, whose motto is "Show the light and the people will find the way," is unapologetically nationalistic in tone.

WARTIME CONDITIONS

In 1944 the National Council of Nigerian and Cameroons (NCNC) was organized to widen and pursue the main objectives laid down already by the decadent NYM. Macaulay became the new organization's first president and Zik its general secretary. Wartime circumstances vitalized the Council. Its machinery was set in motion by the stubborn attitude of Sir Arthur Richards (now Lord Milverton), the then reigning British Governor of Nigeria. The cost of living had attained an unprecedented level. Many articles, including table salt, were on ration. Black marketeering became the order of the day. Wages marked time at their peace-time low level. The British government at Nigeria dictated the prices at which the country's raw materials should be sold to European monopolies. Numbers were unemployed. Confronted by these realities, the people

were simply indignant. Housewives, who queued up for hours in endless lines to buy a spoonful of salt or a cup of rice, were bewildered and they asked angrily: "But whose war is this?"

Such, in brief, were the circumstances in which the NCNC was born. The situation fanned agitation in all corners and anti-imperialist feelings ran fever high. Trade unionism and nationalism formed a grand alliance and the problem became a politico-economic one. This complication was to be expected in a bureaucratic setup in which government was the chief employer. The Nigerian worker was further enraged by the incomparable disparity that existed in the rates of pay between the Europeans and the Africans. The nationalists supported the demands of workers for a minimum wage and better working conditions. The government was adamant and added threats to grievances. In June, 1945, the workers called a nationwide strike that endured for forty-four days. A new era had begun in Nigeria.

It is characteristic of the British government to wait for a crisis and then to follow up with a Royal Commission. The forty-four-day strike had brought in its wake untold hardship to the people, more especially in the urban centers. A heavy loss of revenue was obviously on record. Zik's group of papers were banned. Michael Imodu, labor leader No. 1, was interned. The impact of these multiple events created national tension like which the country had never before experienced. The Colonial Office in London rushed out the Harrigin Commission, which reported on labor conditions, and on the basis of its findings the workers were granted a "cost-of-living award." Subsequently, a new salary scale was adopted. This settlement partially solved this aspect of the complicated national problem.

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

Then came a period of constitutional crisis. In the same eventful year, Sir Richards had introduced a new constitution and enacted a number of ordinances. The National Council called the former an undemocratic instrument and the latter "Obnoxious Bills." One of these bills gave the Governor the power to appoint and depose chiefs at his absolute discretion. Another provided that the country's minerals should be vested in the Crown. The legal issue was whether this Crown was to be construed British or Nigerian. In the spirit of a burnt child who dreads fire, there was a demand that the minerals be vested in the government and people of Nigeria.

A campaign was therefore launched to defeat both the Richards Constitution and his harmful laws. The Youth Movement and the National Council were both opposed to these measures, but they would not cooperate in presenting a united front. The rift between the two bodies had widened since the general strike which raised the prestige of the National Council, owing to the hundred-percent support which it gave to the workers. This fact naturally increased the jealousy of the Youth Movement toward the Council.

In the summer of 1947 Zik led a delegation of the National Council

to Great Britain to plead for some modifications in the Richards Constitution and to ask for other reforms. The Colonial Office turned down the plea. But the mission was not without its favorable result. So manifestly bitter was the feeling of the informed section of the country after the return of the disappointed delegation that Sir John Macpherson, Richard's successor, had to announce to the Legislative Council in 1948 that the Constitution would be reviewed in 1950 instead of 1955 as was originally decreed by its author. This promise has been fulfilled, and the Macpherson Constitution became operative in January, 1952.

Under this new Constitution, which in many respects represents a definite forward step toward the people's legitimate aspiration for self-determination, the first general election in the country was held in 1951. But the Constitution itself has a number of serious flaws which have jeopardized its unanimous acceptance. It has carved out of Nigeria three States—North, East and West—and established a sort of loose federal system. This regionalization has been based on more or less ethnical boundaries. Around the three major linguistic national groups—Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba—other minor but distinctive entities are grouped to form the three States.

"PAKISTANIZING" THE COUNTRY

This "Pakistanism" has been forced upon the country because of the antagonism between the Ibo and Yoruba leaders on the one hand and the conservative aloofness of the northern autocrats on the other. The period 1948 to 1950 was marked by what may be termed the development of Yoruba nationalism. The death of Herbert Macaulay—himself a Yoruba—in 1946 had left Zik in control of the NCNC. And Zik is an Iboman. So that, although some of the leading officers of the National Council were Yoruba, the Youth Movement faction saw in Zik's leadership a serious threat from the recently backward East. This was an insult, and it was high time for the Yorubas to close their ranks. In 1948, therefore, a Separatist campaign was launched by the remnants of the Youth Movement in cooperation with those other Yorubas who had dropped out of the National Council. Out of this movement an all-Yoruba organization, designated *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* (All Yoruba Movement), was fashioned. Its aim was "to unite the various clans and tribes in Yorubaland, and generally create and actively foster the idea of a single nationalism throughout Yorubaland." The EOO was also to accelerate the emergence of a virile modernized and efficient Yoruba State with its own individuality "within the Federal State of Nigeria."

This, then, is the beginning of the idea of modern Nigerian sectionalism. The Moslem North shares this conecption of a divided Nigeria. The British government gives it the blessing of Nigeria's "mother country." On the eve of the election, a new Yoruba organization, Action Group, was born, and the British-educated Obafemi Awolowo, the inveterate champion and exponent of sectionalism, became its leader. The election was contested by four political

parties. Of these, only the National Council was national in character, though predominantly Eastern, with very strong Ibo influence. While the National Council campaigned for a united Nigeria, the platform of the Action Group stressed Yoruba nationalism.

In the North there has been a youth organization known as the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The movement, which is pro-NCNC and forms the only organizational link between the North and the South, has been impotent in the face of the uncurbed northern despotism. With the forces of the old order still impregnable in that part of the country, the NEPU has had no chance. Sometimes its members are forced to operate underground to escape the wrath of one or the other of the ruling Emirs and their bureaucratic agents.

IMPENDING CRISIS

The second northern political organization, formed during the eve of the election, is called the Northern People's Congress (NPC). The word "people" here is grossly misleading. The body is more conservative than its counterpart, the British Tory party of the eighteenth century.

Politically analyzed, then, this is how Nigeria stands in its attitude toward the Macpherson Constitution. While the Action Group and the Congress subscribe to sectionalism, with British assent, the National Council and the Progressive Union insist on unity in diversity. Again, while East and West are strongly nationalist and are set for self-government in 1956, the conservative North, whose rulers are easily influenced by British administrative officers, is apparently hesitant.

In the midst of these inconsistencies, there is every danger of impending crisis. Already, in the past few months, the National Council has dismissed three of its top members holding ministerial portfolios in the Central House. The members were ousted because they were opposed to the party's decision to boycott the Constitution. Unfortunately, these conflicts and the incidents to which they give rise play into the hands of the country's protector. The existing internal differences might provide a sufficient pretext upon which Great Britian might base her argument for pushing back the date for independence.

We have seen enough of Nigerian politics and nationalism as reflected in the movement, to which Lagos provides national guidance. We may now extend our visit to the provinces, as the rest of the country is called in the capital. Various means of transport by land, water, and air are available to bring us to different urban centers and rural districts. But we must be prepared to bear with their slowness and their crudeness.

The motor roads are not of the best type. Cars bump over them and, in the dry season, raise clouds of dust. Most of the highways are nonconcrete. Perhaps the most inconvenient of them all is railroad travel. Along the narrow forty-two-inch-wide tracks, some nineteenth-century-model trains joggle their way at an average rate of 20 m.p.h. And there is little in these trains to indicate that they are designed for the

rider's comfort. If you cannot afford —and only a few Nigerians can— to travel first or second class on the express trains, you might as well be content with standing on your fellow passengers in a third-class coach. But traveling goes on anyway. So let us proceed.

FRIENDLY NIGERIANS

As we move on from one part of the country to another there is one thing that strikes us: that by far the most interesting thing about Nigeria is its people. In the provinces, as in the capital, they are the same people, of friendly disposition, kind and hospitable to strangers. In the streets they are ready with salutations; in their homes they entertain profusely and bring forth presents. But, as the saying goes, among them confidence begets confidence. In these days of intense National feeling, this latter attitude is understandable. Foreigners are potential suspects. If they are white-skinned, they are "enemies" of black men's freedom, not only in Nigeria, but in all Africa; perhaps the world over. They are descendants of the white man who first visited the continent. They are relatives of the white man who still holds sway; "the same race, the dominating race, which ever aspires after empire, and which on occasion, forgets that the sword untempered by the plough has proved disastrous to many Empires."* (From Edmund Morel's *Affairs of West Africa*, London, 1912, p. 85).

Into this country of humor and changing moods we have come as "neutral" Americans. Friendship, goodwill and warm reception await us. But to be worthy of this confidence, we must watch utterances and guard our attitudes. For it is the eve of independence in Nigeria and the people have learned to believe in their nationalist leaders who have declared that the year of our Lord nineteen-hundred-and-fifty-six is the date—the year in which that hope will be fulfilled. As visitors, it is none of our business to declare the contrary. The nationalists are the best judge. Ours is to see their viewpoint or hold our peace and watch the events of the next few years. Thus disposed, we shall enter freely into the sanctuaries of Nigerian life and institutions and learn all that there is to learn about them.

It is indeed a changing Nigeria, a budding new nation at a turning point in its history. In urban areas, contact with foreign philosophies of life has precipated a struggle between the old and the new social order, and the people know not what to believe. The more conservative elements lament bitterly the iconoclastic tendencies of the extreme progressives who advocate total change. We note, also, that the country is predominately rural. But migration to the towns has become evident, perhaps inevitable, and is proceeding at an increasing rate. An insatiable quest for modern ways of living seems to set the pace. Desire for employment and the trading instinct are among the chief factors. As a result, urban communities have become strikingly heterogeneous, composed, as they are, of the descendants of the various racial groups that have been brought within the boundaries of modern Nigeria. But there is

(*Continued on page* 317)

ORCHESTRA LEADER *Horace Heidt and two members of his band before the mike during the second annual NAACP's Great Night at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on March 23, when more than 15,000 people were entertained by some of the country's topflight performers.*

THE LATE *Dr. Louis T. Wright was awarded the* 1952 *American Cancer Society medal posthumously for his research in cancer, which he conducted for* 33 *years at Harlem Hospital before his death in October,* 1952. *He is the first Negro to be given the medal. Mrs. Louis Wright (second from left) accepted the award at a luncheon held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, in March to launch the* 1953 *cancer crusade, with a national goal of* 18 *million dollars to combat cancer. The medal, awarded for "most outstanding contribution to cancer control," was presented to Mrs. Wright by Dr. John C. A. Gerster, one of the founders of the New York City Cancer Committee. Also participating in the ceremonies were the two daughters of the late Dr. Wright: Dr. Barbara P. Wright (left) and Dr. Jane C. Wright (right).*

■ **The author argues that newspapers owe it to themselves to eliminate race labeling in the news**

Non-Government Censorship

By *Herbert Bebb*

TWO years ago the City Club of Chicago published the first of two pamphlets under the title "'John Smith, Negro' in the Tribune," which were illustrated and documented with photographically reproduced clippings showing the Tribune routine practice of using the word "Negro" after names in the news. The second report, a year ago, especially emphasized crime labeling, circled eight occurrences of the word "Negro" on a sample page 1, and stated that none of Chicago's city-wide papers gave a word to the first report.

It is not the purpose of the present article to discuss the extent to which race labeling encourages readers to think in terms of stereotypes and thus promote segregation. These and other related points are treated at length in the above reports, obtainable from the City Club, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., and more briefly in articles in *The Crisis*.

The silence of our agencies of mass publicity presents a separate challenge. It continues to be true that the news-purveying function has been abdicated as to this subject by the Chicago *Daily News*, the *Sun-Times*, the *Herald-American*, and even the *Defender*, which is the leading Negro paper of the city. They offer the excuse that they themselves do not practice race labeling but that they are unwilling to attack the "internal policy" of another paper.

This is not a defense but is merely a restatement of the fact that they don't publish certain news. In addition, the labeling is not merely internal but has important repercussions outside the printing plant.

The New York Times and the *Christian Science Monitor*, when asked to break the circle of silence, give similar answers. *Newsweek* and *Time* claim that there is no current news angle, altho it is pointed out

HERBERT BEBB, *a member of the Chicago, Illinois, Bar, is chairman of the race relations committee of the City Club, Chicago, and author of two pamphlets on race labeling in the* CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

to them that such an angle was furnished by the analogy to the generally disapproved Jew-labeling in the Prague trials. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* maintain their segments of the circle.

SELF-CENSORSHIP

Paradoxically, where the shoe is on the other foot, the *Tribune* has, itself, published news items condemning race labeling. During the Olympic games Moscow papers sought to belittle the achievements of our athletes by claiming that the best of them were Negro rather than American. One of the Negro athletes objected to this labeling and was quoted in the *Tribune!*

Another paradox is that this self-censorship comes at a time when the press is giving unprecedented space to Freedom of the Press. Our papers have rightly deplored Peron's destruction of *La Prensa.* A proposal to control leaks of government information was treated as a question of censorship and freedom of the press. But the semi-annual survey of press censorship, by the Associated Press, (*Newsweek*, January 5, p. 58) appears to be limited to government censorship. A symposium at the University of Chicago last summer was expressly limited to "government" interference.

A disquieting element is the ground for suspicion that fear is a substantial motive for some of the reluctance to bring into the open what definitely is not merely internal policy but is a question of a type that it is the job of the press to talk thru. The *Tribune* has stated in its news columns that the *Defender* is under obligation to it for emergency newsprint. The covert threat of reprisals on this sensitive nerve would seem adequate to account for the silence of the *Defender.* Why was the symposium at the University of Chicago limited in such a way that our problem would not be discussed? Was it because, after Dartmouth had in a parallel case subjected the *Tribune* to criticism for slanting its news, savage reprisals appeared in that paper and were repeated at intervals? Are less obvious elements of fear involved in the other cases of silence?

Masthead, the magazine of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, published a year ago "A Study in Race Labeling" directed at, but not naming, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch.* The editor ran a two-page "Rebuttal" of the three-page article in which he took the position that it is not the job of the reporter to be a sociologist, but rather to publish news. He ignored the point that routine race labeling is itself sociology or anthropology in the wrong direction, in that it encourages unscientific inferences of biological differences. His insistence on complete irresponsibility in determining what is news and in the manner of treatment is the same as that of the *Tribune.* Such attitudes are subversive. If we ever come to government control of the press or to government ownership, which God forbid, it will be as a result of such defiance of the needs of the community. For a publisher to say that he will publish solely on the basis of what is news is the same thing as saying he will publish anything that will sell. It repudiates standards.

SILENT TREATMENT

On February 14 John S. Knight, publisher of the *News*, editorially chided a reader who had urged the silent treatment for Truman, saying the letter is curious "because it betrays so little understanding of the functions of a newspaper," and that if the suggestion were complied with "we would not deserve to survive because we would be negating the basic reason for our existence, which is the dissemination of news and information, be it good or bad." Applying Knight's test to his silence as to race labeling, the *News* does not deserve to survive.

Chicagoans have gone to "the Col." Robert R. McCormick, with protests at the venom with which his critic, Cauldia Cassidy, has blasted out of their jobs, successive conductors of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, to receive the explanation that he is not interested in music but that her diatribes sell papers. If this is the spirit that actuates and explains the race labeling policy, it should not be a matter for surprise that the papers are not willing to wash such dirty linen in public. But it is a reason why members of the public should insist on speaking out where they have the chance.

William Ray, NBC's Chicago news director, recently questioned the good faith and consistency of the newspapers in objecting to the exclusion of reporters from the Jelke trial whereas they had "sat on their hands" while radio and TV were being excluded from the Chicago Crime Committee hearings. It is easy to draw distinctions here since carefully studied Bar Association reports have pointed out that radio and especially TV distort the atmosphere of a hearing. But no additional distinction suggests itself to excuse the hand-sitting of Ray himself as to the issue we are here discussing. Apparently he and the others in the field are unable to see any broad principle of Freedom of Speech as a servant of the public interest. Each person sees it as a means of his own access to the "stories" on which his own income depends. The Founding Fathers saw it as a means of access to information on the part of the public. That access is more stifled in this country by practices of the newspapers themselves than by the government practices with which they are preoccupied.

NO REFORM

President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message, suggested that certain civil rights matters be left to "the power of fact fully publicized, of persuasion honestly pressed, and of conscience justly aroused." Passing over the point that this is not enough, it clearly is a rock bottom minimum. But the silent white press refuses to permit even the President's three stated powers. By keeping silent under such arguments as that they don't undertake to reform one another, they are seeing to it that the case against race labeling is not publicized.

This article has named names in an effort to be specific. The individuals thus treated are examples. Similar practices are scattered country wide. The *Crisis* for January, 1953, listed among debits for 1952 "Race labeling of crime stories by the New York *Daily News* and the *World Telegram & Sun.*"

NAACP SUNDAY *in Charlotte, North Carolina, was observed with a mass meeting in the First Baptist church at* 1024 *South Church Street. The speaker for the occasion was Dr. James M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina chapter of the Association and an outstanding champion of civil rights in the Deep South. Dr. Hinton was introduced by the Rev. Mr. J. B. Humphrey and special musical selections were rendered by the Greenville Tabernacle and the Myers Tabernacle choirs.* BOTTOM: *Part of the audience which heard Dr. Hinton at the Sunday mass meeting.*

■ A resume of the information offered by Langston Hughes to the Senate permanent sub-committee on investigations on March 26, 1953

Langston Hughes Speaks

DURING a period in my life coinciding roughly with the beginning of the Scottsboro Case and the depression of the 1930's and running through to the Nazi-Soviet Pact, I wrote a number of poems which reflected my then deep sympathies with certain of the aims and objectives of the leftist philosophies and the interests of the Soviet Union in the problems of poverty, minorities, colonial peoples, and particularly of Negroes and jim crow. Most of these poems appeared only in booklet form and have long been out of print. I was amazed to learn that some of these out-dated examples of my work are today being circulated in our State's Department's overseas libraries. Written, some of them, partially in leftist terminology with the red flag as a symbol of freedom, they could hardly serve to present a contemporary picture of American ideals or of my personal ones.

I am not now and have never been a member of the Communist Party, and have so stated over the years in my speeches and writings. But there is in my family a long history of participation in social struggle—from my grandfather who went to prison for helping slaves to freedom and another relative who died with John Brown at Harper's Ferry to my great uncle, John M. Langston, only Negro representative in Congress from Virginia following the Reconstruction, and who had supported Abraham Lincoln in his recruiting Negro troops, and spoken for freedom on the same platform with Garrison and Phillips. In my own youth, faced with the problems of both poverty and color, and penniless at the beginning of the depression, I was strongly attracted by some of the promises of Communism, but always with the reservations, among others, of a creative writer wishing to preserve my own freedom of action and expression—and as an American Negro desiring full integration into our body politics. These two reservations, particularly (since I could never accept the totalitarian regimentation of the artist nor the communist theory of a Negro state for the Black Belt)—were among other reasons why I never contemplated joining the Communist Party although various aspects of communists interests were for some years reflected in the emo-

tional content of my writing. But I was shocked at the Nazi-Soviet Pact, just as I am shocked now by the reported persecution of the Jewish people. And I was disturbed by the complete lack of freedom of press and publication I observed in the USSR. In our own country I have been greatly heartened in recent years by the progress being made in race-relations, by the recent Supreme Court decisions relative to Negro education, restrictive covenants, the ballot, and travel. My work of the war years, and my latest books have reflected this change of emphasis and development in my own thinking and orientation. This is, I think, clearly and simply shown in the last paragraph of my latest book:

Our country has many problems still to solve, but America is young, big, strong, and beautiful. And we are trying very hard to be, as the flag says, 'one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.' Here people are free to vote and work out their problems. In some countries people are governed by rulers, and ordinary folks can't do a thing about it. But here all of us are a part of democracy. By taking an interest in our government, and by treating our neighbors as we would like to be treated, each one of us can help make our country the most wonderful country in the world.

LANGSTON HUGHES

■ **The vexations of a public school teacher in her fight for justice**

Stemming the Tide

By Alfreda L. Madison

SUSAN JONES, the teacher, sat close beside the tin heater in the little frame house that served as the teachers' cottage in the small village in one of the southern states. This dilapidated structure was owned by the principal and it served as a home for Susan and seven other female faculty members. As she sat there on this February night with the wind whistling through the many cracks in this ancient "teacherage," Susan began to think of the speech that she had made before the school board the previous year.

She recalled the disappointment she had received, after giving these twelve school officials an itemized account of the typical fifty-dollar a month teacher, when she noticed that their hearts had not been softened. This year the salary was the same as last. "But just think," said Susan to herself, "they are even asking us to contribute a part of this mite for the addition of rooms to the school building. The white teachers who are making ninety-five dollars a month aren't asked to do this. Their schools are built by the county."

Susan decided that something must be done, but who was the one to take the initiative and introduce the idea at the county teachers' meeting that they must join the statewide legal movement for equal salaries. She talked the matter over with several teachers. The replies were: "Something should be done, but these teachers aren't going to do anything?" "The person who starts the movement will lose his job." "You know our supervisors won't like it." "If we start anything we are just going to make good white folks angry."

Susan was haunted by these answers: "Something should be done, but these teachers aren't going to do anything." "Not these teachers, we teachers," thought Susan. Could she be classed with this indolent group? "The supervisors won't like it?" Yes, she reflected, some of the Uncle Toms whom the whites have always given a good salary and lots of respect because they hold the Negroes back will fear the white man's anger. Why worry about making good whites angry? Her first impulse was that she had been angry over these

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ALFREDA L. MADISON, *who teaches in the Richmond, Virginia, public schools, has been a consistent supporter of the NAACP's fight, first, for the equalization of salaries, and, second, for the abolition of segregated schools.*

injustices all her life. At least we can alternate it.

"GOOD WHITES"

Then she thought more seriously. Good whites won't get angry because we use the means, provided by our Constitution, to free ourselves of injustices. Only unfair white folk would get angry, and the constant acceptance of unfairness in order to get along with them isn't worth the price. But the idea of losing her job if she initiated the movement arose. "I'm dependent on my salary," mused Susan. "Why doesn't someone else who has other means of support start it? Oh, no, it's as much my business to make a sacrifice as anyone else's, but I'll be fired." Then Susan thought of the job she would have to get anyway as soon as school closed, of the apple she had for breakfast, the 5-cent cup of soup for lunch, the twenty-five cent dinners they were able to get at the bootlegger's house, and the lone fifty dollars a month salary.

However, the idea of starting the equalization movement was discouraged by everyone. So Susan tried to wash it from her mind, yet she was continuously haunted with the thought that Negro teachers would never make even an existing wage unless someone would screw up courage enough to initiate the legal fight. She recalled the family prayers, and how her parents had always taught the supremacy of God's power over man's, and that He always takes care of those who stand for right. "But am I right?" she wondered. I'm not doing this just for myself, but for the one hundred and twenty-four other persons who are now teaching in this county and for all who come after.

With this fact now settled, Susan went to the County Negro Teachers' Meeting with a petition that she had secured from the state organization's lawyer, and the lawyer had been asked to be present too. At this meeting was the big red superintendent of schools, whose face now appeared several shades redder. His was a face which seldom wore a smile in the presence of Negroes, unless they were the Uncle Tom type. This time his face seemed drawn tighter than ever.

ANGRY SUPERINTENDENT

The meeting began and the superintendent angrily arose, in a manner much rougher than usual, to tell the audience that this was a teachers' meeting and that only teachers would be allowed to speak. Then the tall slim Negro lawyer, who was smooth in both looks and actions, quietly stepped forward. In a quiet manner he stated that he was a practicing lawyer in the state, thereby being vested with the authority to represent clients throughout the state. He said, "These are my clients, Sir, and I'm not asking for the permission to speak, I was granted that a number of years ago."

He then allowed the teachers to speak. Of course, there were those present who agreed that they should have equal salaries, but that the time was not right for the asking, since the country was on the verge of World War II. Of course Susan disagreed. She stated, "The time to holler is when you're hurt, and the time for correcting a wrong is when you're conscious of the fact that it exists." At this point the lawyer spoke. The superintendent realizing that this ca-

pable barrister meant business agreed to equalize salaries.

However, Susan was not re-employed for the next school term. Being a two-year normal school graduate she decided to go to Washington, get a job, and go to Howard University. This she did and after two years she had graduated and was again teaching in her native state from which she had been fired two years previously. This time she was teaching in the capital city. "Well," thought Susan, "I shall now work in a place where the salaries are equal, and the discriminations are not so great as they are in the county, because here the people would not stand for the things people in the rural districts have endured."

PUPIL FAILURES

Again Susan was disappointed. Here she found discrimination in teachers salaries, and Negro classes in some schools on double-shifts through the sixth grade. Yes, this city too was over-stocked with "Uncle Toms" and passive people. "Oh, well," said Susan, "I'll just teach in my own classroom, and turn a deaf ear to the injustices." With this she resumed her work of looking at the record cards. Eighteen of the thirty-seven children in her class had failed from one to eight times. Yet they were just in the fourth grade. "Are these children that dumb? If so, would it do any good to fail them? Should I bring these facts to the attention of the group? No, I'll just keep quiet and do the best I can for them here within the confines of my own classroom."

A few days later the local daily carried the results of a city-wide achievement test. It stated that the Negro children were retarded two-and-one-half years behind the whites. "There is a reason for this," thought Susan. "It is impossible for Negroes to learn as much in a half day as whites do in a whole day. Then along with that their school buildings and equipment are inferior. If something isn't done about this situation, Negroes will find themselves further and further retarded."

Mr. Wexel, who had two children in the school, suggested that the PTA take the matter up with the school officials. This was done and it was the same old story. "We'll remedy conditions as soon as we get the money." Mr. Wexel stated that they had received that same answer twenty-five years ago. "Well," said the principal and several other teachers, all of whom felt that any insistence for justice for the children would cost them their jobs. "We'll have to wait until the school board gets the money."

Again Susan thought of the several hundred children being done an injustice because of the feelings of insecurity of a few teachers. All of these teachers were church workers. All of them held devotionals daily in their classrooms. All of them talked about working on the needs of children. Am I too going to betray my trust? Susan rose, made a fervent plea for action by the PTA, and decided with the people that the time had come to put the school situation in the hands of the State Organization for Legal Action.

For the next few days Susan was ostracized by the principal and a majority of the faculty. A group of them was talking, unaware of the

fact that Susan was near, and one said: "She will not be reappointed." Another said, "Why has she come into our city and why does she feel that she is so smart?" Susan quietly walked away. She reflected. It isn't that I think I'm smart. I just want to help the children. If I don't get reappointed, God will give me a job.

CONTRACT RENEWED

The last day of school the principal passed out the contracts for the next school term. Yes, Susan received one to. However, the principal recommended that she be transferred to another school.

Susan again vowed not to take any conspicuous part in breaking down racial discrimination. She quietly went about her task of teaching, but one day, while reading the advertisements in the bus, her eyes fell on something interesting. It was an announcement of the courses that would be offered by the white State University. These are courses that I need, and they will be offered just three blocks from me, thought Susan. They are ten dollars a point cheaper, too, than those at the Catholic University where I'm pursuing my graduate work. No, I won't bother, but the idea of saving both time and money seemed quite convenient. She decided to talk with an instructor of the college where these courses were held. He advised her to file an application stating that he was sure she would be admitted since one Negro was already in the professional school of the University. He even went so far as to say, "Now, Miss Jones, if you aren't admitted, won't you go to court? You all should also apply for the undergraduate school because there isn't a Negro school in the state that is equal to those of the whites."

Susan thought these must be the words of a northern professor teaching in a southern college. I'll find out for sure. So she said, "Where did you do your graduate work, professor?" "At Chicago University." "Oh, you are from Chicago, aren't you?" "No," said the professor, and when he gave the name of his state, Susan was surprised to learn that he was from the Deep South.

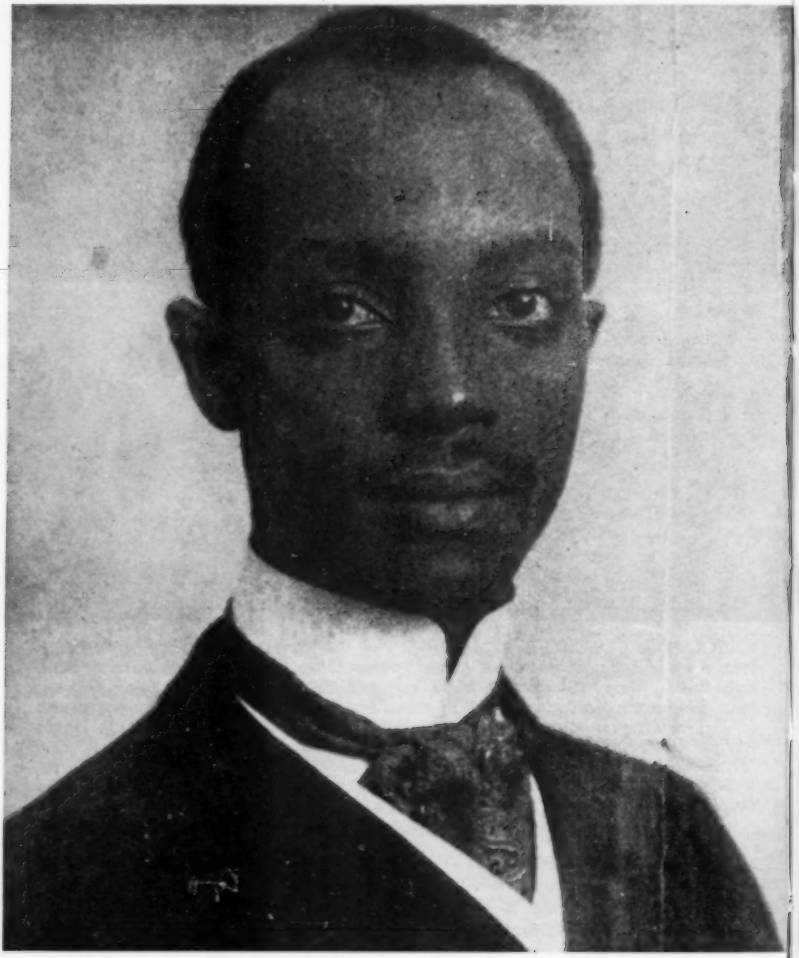
Susan finally filed the application, but after quite sometime she received a reply stating that she could take the course, but her credit would have to come from the Negro college. No, Catholic University may not accept credits from this inferior school, thought Susan. She talked with the State Organization lawyer who wrote the Dean of the University a letter. She was then informed that her scholastic record was too low for the State University.

NOT QUALIFIED

These facts got daily publication in the local newspaper and radio station. Even the Negro college president said that she was not qualified to even take a course in its graduate school. These facts can't be true, thought Susan. The requirements for Catholic University are stiffer than either of these schools and I have been admitted there. Then there are two teachers on my faculty who are at present taking courses at the Negro college and they havn't even sent a transcript. This being the case, thought Susan, I'm the only person in the entire state who is not qualified

(*Continued on page* 316)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS *of the Kansas City, Missouri, NAACP branch after mapping out annual membership campaign. From left, seated: Mrs. Zula Butler, Mrs. Julia Massey, Mrs. Polly Jeff, Faith Nanson, Mrs. Joyce Dotson, Mrs. Gladys Elmore, Margaret Williams, Mrs. Julia Green, Robert Jefferson, and L. L. Griffin; standing, Carl Johnson, branch president; Arthur Marshall, David Phelps, Dr. Frank Ellis, Roy Eckels, W. D. Dunlap, Mrs. Lazetta Hanley, Rev. Mr. Preston Allen, Mrs. Esther Eckels, Lena Smith, Rev. Mr. L. P. Parker, Forest Smith, Mrs. Veola Peyton, Harold Mack, Mrs. Jean Causey, W. O. Myles, and Dr. T. T. Lowrey. Some members were absent when picture was taken.* BOTTOM: *Newly elected officers of the Savannah, Georgia, youth council.*



JAMES E. McGIRT

(*Died in Greensboro, N. C.*, 1930)

■ The story of a Tar Heel poet who is now almost forgotten

JAMES E. McGIRT: Tar Heel Poet

By John W. Parker

ONE hears little or nothing these days about North Carolina's remarkable Negro poet, James Ephraim McGirt, who just four decades ago was a well-known literary figure.

In Greensboro, for example, where he spent his most prosperous years, his name is all but nonexistent. And similarly in the remote nook of Robeson county where he was born and bred, farmers and veneer-plant workers alike speak in vague terms about this James Ephraim McGirt.

While today little remains to indicate it several generations of McGirts are known to have lived and died in the fertile cornlands of Robeson county. Themselves products of the Lumberton-Rowland sections, young McGirt's parents, Madison and Ellen (Townsend) McGirt, like their neighbors, were wont to look to the soil for a livelihood. They eventually went to live in Greensboro where they acquired a home on Ireland Street for their four children.

Begun at the Allen Private School in Lumberton, McGirt's formal education was continued in the public schools of Greensboro. "Bud," as he was known to his close friends, proceeded straightway to Bennett College in 1882, and was graduated with the class of 1885.

At every spare moment while in college, he was scribbling away at poetry. Egged on by the conviction that one day he would masquerade as an established poet, he was content to work and to pray, to hope and to dream.

From the preface to *Avenging the Maine* (1899), his initial publication, comes a glimpse of the difficulty under which his early writing was done.

"These poems," he complained, "were written under very unfavorable circumstances. . . . Often at my work bench, these poems would flash into my mind and I would be restless to sketch them upon paper that I might retain them until the day's work was done. Sometime I could find it convenient to do so; sometimes I could

JOHN W. PARKER *is chairman of the department of English at Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville, North Carolina.*

not, and when I would fail to sketch them, at night the muse would not return."

SOJOURN IN PHILADELPHIA

As the days passed, however, McGirt's impulse for poetic expression grew increasingly insistent, but he found himself marking time in Greensboro. Once in Philadelphia, however, he gave himself largely to creative literature. His first book of poems, *Avenging the Maine* (1899), was published by the Edwards and Broughton Printing Company in Raleigh. *Some Simple Songs* followed in 1901.

Five years later came his final collection of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906).

McGirt enjoyed a heyday in Philadelphia. During the early years of his sojourn there, he became the owner and editor of McGirt's Magazine, a business venture which he subsequently elaborated into the McGirt Publishing Company and for which he sold shares at a minimum of $1.00 each.

Meantime, a portion of his time was devoted to lecture-reading tours which carried him to many sections of the country.

CHARACTER OF POETRY

The poems found in McGirt's three slender volumes are limited in scope and uneven in quality. They offer a glimpse, if but a faint one, of the American scene around the turn of the century. Some of them have a religious touch; others are commonplace; and still others ring with the delight and joy of living. All bespeak the sincerity if not always the warmth of the poet's own life.

The Negro theme occupied a fairly large place in the author's total literary output, and he occasionally employed Negro dialect.

The poem "Born Like the Pines" is buoyant and penetrating and represents an expression of genuine lyric quality. Likewise, "The Century Prayer" amounts to a fervent plea for the reign of peace throughout the world. As to structure, style and intensity, however, the greater portion of his poems leave much to be desired.

With his change of fortune in Philadelphia, the death of his brother and the continuing illness of his parents, McGirt returned to his home in Greensboro. He invested in an elaborate 10-room house on Ashe Street and with the assistance of his sister, Mary, he converted the then little-known Star Hair Grower Company into a lucrative business concern. For nearly a decade he manufactured hair grower and a complete line of toilet articles and notions for markets throughout the United States, in Canada, and abroad.

By 1918 McGirt's property holdings in Greensboro and in adjacent towns were considerable, and he elected to relinquish his work with the hair grower concern to become a realtor, a position which subsequently he had to give up because of failing health.

HOPE "FOREVER DEFERRED"

A good many of McGirt's poems stem from his unhappy experiences in love. The title of his final volume of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906) was inspired by the one woman he loved almost to the point of desperation, but never ventured

to marry. She eventually married another and settled in Greensboro as a high school teacher.

A defeatist note runs through his poem, "Defeated," as well as an undercurrent of self-accusation. And "Tell Me, O Fate" breathes a note of impending demoralization;

Years have I labored, toiled and fought
But yet no prize I see.
Tell me, O Fate, if this is all
That I shall ever be.

The publication of "The Triumphs of Ephraim" in 1907 may signify that as a last resort, this disillusioned writer turned to yet another literary medium—the short story. Nor is McGirt thought to have been serious about his poems in dialect. William Dean Howell's praise for Dunbar's pieces in dialect as opposed to those in standard English may have inspired him to bid for similar recognition. That recognition, however, never came.

On the occasion of the poet-realtor's death in 1930, the Greensboro Daily News for June 14, 1930, commented: "James E. McGirt, one of the best-known Negro citizens of Greensboro, died early Friday morning at the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital. He was a poet, a writer of songs and the editor of McGirt's Magazine, and he had been engaged in business for many years."

DID YOU KNOW —

That the Negro members of General Leclercs' army were not permitted to march in Paris, France, upon its liberation on August 24, 1944?

Sylvère Alcandre, authority for this statement ("Emancipation of Colonial Peoples," p. 58), says this was done to keep the French populace in ignorance of the part black troops had played in liberating the city. Alcandre says he heard "Long live De Gaulle. Long live Leclerc," but not once a "Long live Eboué."

★ ★ ★

That the man selected to correct the style and the grammar of the constitution for the Fourth French Republic was the Senegalese Léopold Sédar-Senghor?

When the constituent assembly looked around for the member best qualified to pass on the language of the second draft constitution (1946) it selected Sédar-Senghor because he was the only member with an "Agrégé de l'Université" in French language and grammar. Léopold Sédar-Senghor, who was born on October 9, 1906, at Joal-la-Portugaise, Senegal, Africa, represents his native Senegal in the Chamber of Deputies and teaches African languages in the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer. Sédar-Senghor is also one of France's leading contemporary poets.

Willie Hanks—He Hopes to Swim Channel

WHEN summer comes Willie Hanks, a 38-year-old New York City postal clerk, hopes to make his try at swimming the treacherous English channel. If he succeeds, he will be the first American Negro to accomplish this fact.

Long known throughout the Eastern Seaboard as a great swimmer, Hanks has trained arduously for this swim and has sought and received the advice and counsel of Florence Chadwick, first woman to swim the channel from both directions. Miss Chadwick has already made arrangements for the coach who trained her in France to handle Hanks when he arrives.

Hanks' ambition, of course, depends upon his raising the $3,000 needed for his training and other expenses. He has already received contributions from Jackie Robinson, the New York Post Office Clerks Association and other interested individuals.

Hanks is the father of two daughters, Phyllis, four, and Nancy, nine, and he is dedicating his efforts to his children. He has been interested in the welfare of young people for twenty years, devoting his time to swimming instruction and teaching in the Harlem YMCA, the Boys Athletic League, and the Harlem Childrens Center.

Sam Rockett, who lives in England, has agreed to train Hanks after he arrives at Folkestone and thinks Hanks the ideal age, 38, for a channel swimmer.

The June and July numbers of THE CRISIS are combined in one issue, June-July, out July 1.

SWIMMER *Willie Hanks and his family. From left, Mrs. Margaret Hanks, his wife; Phyllis Hanks,* 4; *and Nancy Hanks* (*seated on the floor*), 9.

Resolutions On Program And Policy To Be Considered At Forty-Fourth Annual Convention

In accordance with Article IX, NAACP Constitution (Blue Book), the following proposal for constitutional amendment was submitted to the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for consideration by the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention:

AMENDMENT TO BRANCH CONSTITUTION

Great Neck, New York, Branch
Received at National Office April 20, 1953.

It is proposed that Article IV, Section 4, be amended to read as follows:

Section 4—*Nominating Committee*: At the October membership meeting of the branch, there shall be elected a Nominating Committee composed of not less than five nor more than fifteen members. This Committee will promptly meet, elect a chairman and it shall interview qualified persons to be nominated as candidates for branch offices. The report of the Nominating Committee, consisting of nominations of qualified persons to fill the existing branch offices, and the members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, shall be made in writing to the November membership meeting of the branch. At said November membership meeting of the branch, additional nominations may be made for all offices and membership on the Executive Committee, only with the consent of the proposed candidates, by written petition signed by three or more members of the branch in good standing as of thirty days prior to said meeting. After all nominations shall have been made, the branch, at said November meeting, will then elect an election supervisory committee to consist of three members of the branch in good standing. It shall be the duty of this special committee to cause to be either printed, mimeographed, or typewritten, a complete ballot containing the correct names of all persons thus nominated. The ballot, so prepared under the supervision of said special committee, shall be the only ballot to be used on the elecion day at the Annual Election Meeting of the branch.

In case a Nominating Committee is not elected, or neglects or fails to render a report, all nominations shall be by petition at the November meeting as provided above.

It is proposed that Article IV, Section 5, be amended to read as follows:

Section 5 (*paragraph* 1)—*Election Method*: All officers and the Executive Committee shall be elected by secret ballot at each Annual Election Meeting of the branch. Upon proof of qualification, eligible voters shall receive and sign for one ballot each. Thereupon immediately proceeding to a booth or enclosure to vote.

It is proposed that Article VI, Section 2, be amended to read as follows:

Section 2—*Annual Election Meeting*: The Annual Election Meeting shall be held between November 15 and December 15, unless the time of the meeting is changed with the written approval of the National Office.

POLICY

Canton, Ohio, Youth Council
Received at National Office April 20, 1953.

WHEREAS, we are aware of the need for wholehearted cooperation between all partners in the NAACP program, and

WHEREAS, we have seen our work in some communities harmed and local branches and youth councils weakened because of unnecessary conflict between those groups, and we know that such conditions result from misunderstanding of responsibility,

THEREFORE, we propose that the following be added to both our youth council and branch constitutions, as and where appropriate, with addition to other articles and sections of said constiutions:

Branch-Youth Council Relationship

The subordinate relationship of youth councils to branches, referred to elsewhere herein, is defined as follows:

1. Councils are clearly subordinate to branches insofar as the initiation of programs and procedures not proposed or approved by the National Office, state conferences, etc., are concerned. In such matters, coordination with and prior approval of the branch executive committee is required.
2. Councils are required to give financial, membership, and general activities reports at branch executive committee meetings.
3. Councils are required to secure the branch president's prior approval of press and publicity releases.
4. Councils are required to inform the branch, in advance where feasible, of activities they conduct that follow National Office and/or state conference program recommendations. Examples include properly conducted social affairs, membership drives, Negro History Week Programs, sending delegates to conferences, etc. . . .

The Branch Youth Work Committee, functioning in communities where active councils exist, shall serve to effect voluntary council-branch coordination.

Within fifteen (15) days after council-branch disagreement, the president and secretary of both units shall prepare and forward signed report/s to the National Youth Secretary for arbitration or decision and possible referral to the appropriate regional office, or state conference, for investigation and other action.

The youth council shall elect 1, 2 or 3 adults belonging to the branch or to the Association as members-at-large for the post of council advisor, and shall submit such name/s to the branch executive committee for approval. If said executive committee, at a meeting to be held within thirty (30) days after notification of the council's election of its advisor, does not approve the council's advisor selection/s, it shall immediately submit written reason therefor in duplicate to the council which shall have the right of appeal to the National Youth Secretary. Provided, that there shall be not more than one advisor and not more than two associate advisors.

The council advisor shall have the primary responsibility for council-branch liaison.

Advisory Committee

The council, by two-thirds vote of its members present at any regular meeting thereof, may elect as a standing committee, an advisory committee of local adults having memberships in good standing with the Association. Such committee shall be generally responsible for:

1. Interpreting the council program to the adult community, and working with the branch youth committee to secure the support of all local adults.
2. Cooperation with the branch youth work committee and the council advisor (and associate advisors) in the formulation of advisory policies.

NAACP DELEGATE *Dr. Rayford Logan (left) participating in panel discussion of human rights at American Association for the United Nations third annual conference on United States responsibility for world leadership. Other participants are (from left), Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Rita Schaefer, Catholic Association for International Peace; and Sidney Liskofsky, American Jewish Committee. The conference, attended by representatives of 125 national organizations, was held in the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 1-3.* BOTTOM: *Some of participants in first annual southeastern regional conference, Birmingham, Alabama, February 20-22: from left, seated, Barbara Gardner, vice-president Alabama youth state conference; Dr. W. M. Boyd, president Georgia state conference; standing, Dr. Ralph Gilbert, Savannah; C. W. Greenlea, Atlanta; and Daniel Byrd, NAACP field secretary.*

Looking and Listening . . .

RACE RELATIONS

HERE are two items from the *Cleveland Call and Post* (April 4, 1953) which reflect the complications of race relations even in such a relatively racially liberal state as Ohio.

The first item concerns the salaries paid teachers in Central State College, a state-controlled institution:

Feeling that their positions as instructors in Ohio's only jim-crow college are safe, Dr. Charles H. Wesley, head of Central State College, complained in March before the House finance committee on salary discrimination.

Although second-rate salaries have been in vogue since the establishment of Central State College . . . this is the first time the salary discrimination issues has been raised.

Declaring that the annual pay of teachers at Central State is 'disgracefully lower' than that of teachers at the other state-controlled colleges, Dr. Wesley told the finance committee of the House that it is about time for the state to 'equalize the pay for all its teachers.'

He reminded the committee that even in southern states the salaries of Negro and white teachers have been equalized. 'But,' he added, 'it took law to compel them to do so. I don't think that should be necessary in Ohio.'

Dr. Wesley's own chart, showing the low pay received by his teachers as compared to that of instructors in the other state schools, provided a graphic illustration of the price Central State employees pay for the privilege of teaching in Ohio's only segregated college.

At Ohio State, Dr. Wesley pointed out, 143 teachers earn annual salaries of from $7,999 to $11,999 and 411 have annual incomes of from $5,000 to $7,999. Bowling Green, Kent State and Miami Universities (all integrated schools) also have teachers whose earnings fall in the above bracket.

None of Central State's teachers are paid the above salaries, according to Dr. Wesley. The college, he said, has only four teachers in the $4,500 to $4,-999 category; nine earn from $4,000 to $4,999; 14 are in the $3,500 to $3,999 bracket; 26 earn from $3,000 to $3,499; 18 are paid salaries of from $2,500 to $2,999 a year; and 10 earn salaries ranging from only $1,800 to $2,499.

Dr. Wesley pointed out that his school's accreditation places it on the same level as the state's other five colleges, and for that reason there should be no difference between the pay of his teachers and those of the other institutions.

CINCINNATI GARDENS

WE quote the second item from the same edition of the *Call* as it appears in Bragdon and Coffey's column, "Speaking Out on Race Relations." Virginia Coffey writes:

It's on ice! Have you heard that many of our youngsters are ice skating at the Cincinnati Gardens these days? It seems to be a very popular pastime for the teen-agers. They seem to skate whenever they wish, and there are no

restrictions against them.

One student from Walnut Hills High spoke enthusiastically of the fun she is having, as I talked to her.

'Are there white people skating at the time you're there?' I asked.

'Oh, yes, plenty of them. But there's no trouble at all. We all have a good time. Everyone is real nice. Everybody laughs with you when you fall, but then they try to help you too. It's real nice out there.'

I remembered the 'membership card' device used out there a couple of years ago, and still being used at a well known roller-skating rink to keep Negroes out. I asked if any such device was used at the Garden now.

'Oh, no,' she replied. 'Nobody asks for anything like that. We can skate at any time. . . .'

NO JIM CROW HIRING

ACCORDING to the *California Eagle* (March 3, 1953), the Studebaker Corporation has dropped its jim-crow policy for the first time in thirty-five years in Vernon when it hired Negroes, Mexicans, and Japanese. The newly hired men were placed on the "line" throughout the plant and without any discrimination or segregation.

The victory at Studebaker came after months of prodding and pressure by Studebaker Local No. 255 of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), with the help of regional and national representatives of the union.

Holdouts in the area are the Willys plant in Maywood and the Chevrolet plant in Van Nuys. Neither hires Negroes nor members of other minority groups except in janitorial positions.

The Studebaker victory is the third to be chalked up to UAW locally. In November, the Nash-Kelvinator plant, which assembles Nash automobiles, hired about a dozen Negroes on the assembly line as trimmers, bodymen, and general assemblers. A short time later the Bendix plant in North Hollywood, which makes aviation parts for the Army and Navy, dropped its jim-crow hiring policy.

JOB BIAS

THE March issue of *Labor Reports,* issued by the Jewish Labor Committee, reports on widespread evidence of job discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups (Jews, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Orientals) in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Illinois in skilled operations.

In Pennsylvania, the report of the Governor's Commission on Employment Practices, headed by Samuel H. Daroff of Philadelphia, revealed that of the 1,229 companies employing 900,000 workers that there were included in this survey, nine-tenths practice some degree of discrimination. Three-fourths discriminate against minorities in upgrading or apprenticeship opportunities while two-thirds bar minorities from skilled jobs. Among companies employing less than 50 or more than 1,000 workers, discrimination was reduced substantially. Pennsylvania does not have a fair employment practices law but Philadelphia has a municipal ordinance barring discrimination in employment, as do Pittsburgh, Farrell, Monessen, and Sharon.

The survey of the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission which was conducted by Elmo Roper, nationally known pollster, and covered a period of eighteen months, also disclosed

employment opportunities for Negroes were primarily limited to unskilled jobs. Of the 53 companies surveyed, nine per cent did not employ Negroes at all, 17 per cent employed very few, 8 per cent hired them for unskilled jobs only, while 13 per cent did not employ them at higher than semi-skilled jobs. This makes a total of 42 per cent of the companies studied which continue to discriminate against Negro workers in spite of the existence of a State Fair Employment Practices law.

In Illinois, another study conducted by two students at the Illinois Institute of Technology, revealed that one-third of the job orders received by employment counselors in the Chicago area were discriminatory. This study also disclosed that the group that bears the severest brunt of job discrimination is the Negro, whom 84 per cent of the counselors found "extremely hard to place if qualified." The next hardest group to place were Mexicans, Orientals, and Jews. Illinois, like Pennsylvania, has no FEPC law.

LIBRARIANS SNUB MIAMI

THE executive board of the American Library Association, according to the same issue of *Labor Reports*, has turned down a bid from the City of Miami for the 1954 Convention of the Association because this city is unwilling to comply with the anti-discrimination policies of the librarians' group.

This policy specifically forbids meeting in any city where equal participation in all activities is not available to all convention delegates. This includes hotel accommodations, restaurant facilities, and transportation.

When it was learned that the city of Miami, Florida, was planning to provide segregated facilities, the board voted unanimously to meet in Minneapolis instead.

SCAD REPORT

ANNUAL report of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) states that employment opportunities in many industries and occupational categories in New York, and membership in labor unions have expanded as a result of conciliation agreements stemming from Commission complaint cases filed against employers, employment agencies, and labor unions. The report points out that these specific accomplishments are important, but declares that "it is the Commission's view that the introduction of a Negro into a major railroad union for the first time in the history of that union, and the employment of members of other religious or nationality groups in occupations or industries from which they had been previously excluded, mark but the beginning of employment pattern changes which should pervade all segments of our economy."

The report states that for this reason the Commission continues to conduct periodic reviews of conciliation agreements for the purpose of measuring the changes which are taking place in the elimination of discriminatory practices, and to seek industry-wide conferences where the progress towards non-discriminatory employment appears to be slow.

SURROUNDED *by NAACP stalwarts and a college president, Kelly M. Alexander (seated), president of the North Carolina NAACP conference and national board member, smiles his approval at number of youths gathered for youth conference at Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina, in February. Pictured, from left, are the Rev. Mr. J. B. Turner, conference secretary; N. L. Gregg, treasurer; Dr. J. M. Hinton, president South Carolina NAACP conference, guest speaker; Dr. David Jones, president Bennett College; Gloster Current, NAACP branch director; and Professor W. Calude Jones, Sr., of Parmele.* **BOTTOM:** *Helen Palmore and Betty Benfield, of Greensboro College, discuss interracial youth activities with Dr. Lewis and Herbert Wright (right), NAACP youth director.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SCHOOLS

School Integration: The admission of Negro students to previously all-white schools in Delaware created no unpleasant incidents, reports Dr. Frederic Wertham, noted psychiatrist and director of the LaFargue Clinic in New York City.

"Despite all the adults' dire forebodings and despite the mistaken theories of some psychologists, Negro and non-Negro children adjusted on the whole constructively and in a friendly manner to the new situation," he writes in the March issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*.

"The abolition of segregation removes a handicap that interferes with the self-realization and social adjustment of the child," asserts Dr. Wertham in his article, entitled "Psychiatric Observations on the Abolition of School Segregation."

Dr. Wertham describes experiments conducted in connection with the suit against segregation in public schools in Delaware, one of the five school segregation cases argued before the United States Supreme Court last December by attorneys for the Association. As a result of tests given in 1951 to children in the schools involved, Dr. Wertham says, segregation was found to create potential mental disorders and thus to constitute a public health problem.

In February of this year, a research team of staff members of his clinic went to Delaware and re-tested twenty-two children who had been transferred from segregated to integrated schools. "All of the Negro children of this study who changed from segregated to intergrated schools made distinctly better academic progress," the psychiatrist reveals. "The most potent reason is emotional motivation. The conflicts caused by state-ordained segregation were removed."

Teachers Join Up: The South Carolina State Conference of NAACP branches has announced that thirty-three Negro school teachers of Horry County, S. C., have become association members.

Horry county has been the scene of widespread terror and Ku Klux Klan activity during recent months. About two years ago, in a Klan raid on a restaurant in Myrtle Beach, owned by a Negro, a Horry county policeman wearing Klan robes was killed during the fracas.

The memberships of the Horry county teachers are only one evidence of the increased NAACP support that has been growing constantly in South

Carolina since the inception of the widely-publicized legal attack on segregated schools in Clarendon county. The Clarendon county suit is the focal case in a series of five now pending before the United States Supreme Court.

Reverend J. M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina State Conference, and Reverend Mr. H. C. Reed, executive secretary, have been spearheading the state-wide membership campaign.

LABOR

Supports Strike: The 350 employees of the H. and H. Poultry Company now on strike (at the time we go to press) in Selbyville, Delaware, for union recognition and a minimum hourly wage of $1.00 with a guaranteed 32-hour week have been assured full Association support.

The workers, all Negroes, are members of Local No. 262, Packing and Food Service Workers, CIO. Since the beginning of the strike, crosses have been burned in front of the home of Herbert Jenkins, the local business agent; threats of violence have been made by white townsmen; and twelve local whites have been deputized and armed.

Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, and Arthur Chapin of the New Jersey CIO, reported, after an investigation here this week, that tension is mounting. They recalled that a Negro CIO organizer was lynched a few years ago in this southern Delaware town just across the border from Maryland.

Walter White wired the governor of the state urging "immediate investigation by state law enforcement agencies and your office to prevent further threats of violence against Negro workers exercising democratic right to organize and bargain collectively." A similar request was made by Gilbert Lewis, Delaware CIO leader.

The workers are presently earning $8 to $16 a week. Those who live in company houses are compelled to pay $7 a week for dilapidated shacks and are now facing eviction, Mr. Hill reported. Some of them live across the state line in Berlin, Md. The facts in the case have been submitted to Louis Redding, NAACP attorney of Wilmington, for appropriate action.

JIM CROW

Southern Pacific: The practice of the Southern Pacific Railroad in segregating south-bound Negro passengers boarding trains in California has been declared "an illegal denial of equality" under California law by Municipal Court Judge Lucius T. Green.

In response to a suit brought by the Los Angeles NAACP branch on behalf of four plaintiffs, Judge Green filed an opinion and an order on April 7 banning the railroad's discriminatory practice. In so doing he overruled 15 jurisdictional objections raised by attorneys for the railroad. The ruling was on the company's motion to dismiss the NAACP compiaint.

On its Sunset Limited, Southern Pacific has followed a practice of segregating Negro passengers out of Los Angeles in a single car apart from white passengers. Resenting an effort to so segregate them, J. E. Whitmore, Carrie Williams, James Martin, Sr., and Mae E. Duport appealed to the branch and filed a complaint against the company. They were represented by Herbert W. Simmons, Jr., a member of the branch's legal redress committee.

"The basic violation charged is a denial of equal treatment," Judge Green's opinion asserted. "This comprehends in the broader sense every factor—physical, psychological or otherwise that such denial may conceivably produce. It has been held unqualifiedly by the courts of this state that racial segregation is discriminatory and a violation of said civil rights sections.

"In our minds and to our way of thinking upon existing laws in this state the full and equal provisions of the said Civil rights section are not at all satisfied by separate and otherwise equal accommodations. Anything short of a full measure of equality upon exactly the same conditions and restrictions applicable alike to all other passengers regardless of race, creed and color, is an illegal denial of equality."

Denying a motion to strike, Judge Green gave the railroad company ten days in which to file an answer.

MISCELLANEOUS

NAACP Benefit: The 12,500 patrons who attended the second annual NAACP's Great Night at Madison Square Garden on March 23 contributed some $15,000 in cash and pledges to the Association's treasury, according to Rufus W. Smith, chairman of arrangements.

Among the larger contributors were the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL, $2,500; the Liberian delegation to the United Nations, $1,000; International Business Machines, $1,000; Calvert's Distilleries, $1,000; District 4, IUE-CIO, $1,000. The contributions and pledges came in response to an appeal by the Rev. Gardner Taylor, pastor of Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn.

The vast crowd was treated to an evening of entertainment by such topflight performers as Rosalind Russell, Eartha Kitt, Cab Calloway, Danny Thomas, W. C. Handy, Camilla Williams, the Mariners, Bill Kenny's Ink Spots, Horace Heidt, Muriel Rahn, Buddy Bowser, Harold Jackson, Thelma Carpenter, Juanita Hall, Leslie Uggams, Peg Leg Bates, Dolores Martin, Caleb Peterson, Arthur Prysock, Lil Hayes, Irene Treadwell, Ron deLuca, Elaine Malbin, Avon Long, Alice Tate, John Raitt. John Henry Faulk of CBS served as master of ceremonies for the greater part of the night.

The story of the NAACP was told in a dramatic presentation, "Jim Crow Must Go" written and directed by Dick Campbell who also produced the night's program. Ossie Davis, supported by a large and talented cast, served as narrator.

On hand to greet the audience were Oscar Hammerstein II and Lena Horne, co-chairmen of the benefit, and Walter White.

Life Memberships: A $500 life membership in the Association was taken out in April by the Raleigh, N. C., chapter of The Links, Inc., national women's organization. Mrs. Mildred Otley Taylor is president and Mrs. Nannie B. Inborden, secretary-treasurer, of the Raleigh group.

This is the third chapter of The Links to take out a life membership since the adoption of a resolution at the organization's last national convention, urging member groups to support the NAACP. Other chapters taking out life memberships were Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

Another new name added to the roster of life members of the Association is that of the late Reverend Karl Downs, in whose memory, his widow, Mrs. Marion Jackson Downs, noted soprano, presented the check for $500 to the Association through its Baltimore branch. Mrs. Downs is the daughter of Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch and the Maryland State Conference, and a member of the national board of directors of the NAACP.

NAACP HONORED—*Walter White (second from right), NAACP executive secretary, receives the 1953 national Philadelphia Fellowship Commission award in Philadelphia, March 16. The NAACP was honored for "stubborn faith in the soundness and fairness of our American ideals." Shown congratulating Mr. White (from left) are George Eager, assistant to the publisher of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, who made the presentation; Maurice Fagan, executive director of the Fellowship Commission; and Dr. Harry Greene (right), president of the Philadelphia NAACP branch.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: Among the resolutions adopted by the SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL NAACP LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE held in Birmingham, February 20-22, 1953, were the following: Establishment of a public relations bureau; establishment of a southeastern registration committee; creation of rapport between adult and college branches; recommendations to the national office for enactment of constitutional amendments to make franchise committees a part of every branch; repudiation of the segregated school system; adoption of a government policy forbidding use of racial hatred in political campaigns; abolition of the poll tax whereever it now exists; and use of the ballot as an effective means to secure first-class citizenship.

Delaware: The CENTRAL DELAWARE branch of the NAACP was formally organized on March 12 at a meeting held in the Union Baptist church in Dover. Speakers at the organization were Wagner Jackson, president of the Wilmington branch, and branch director Gloster Current of New York City. Field secretary June Shagaloff gave a nationwide civil rights report.

Branch officers are as follows: the Rev. Mr. Grant S. Shockley, president; the Rev. Mr. J. H. Williams, vice-president; Mrs. Dennis, secretary; Mrs. M. Fischer, treasurer. Committee chairmen are as follows: policy, the Rev. Mr. J. H. Williams; church, the Rev. Mr. C. W. Reid; program, Dr. Charles Henry; housing, Mrs. Lillian Sockon and J. B. Aiken; employment, Richard Waymer; education, William Bowie; ways and means, Mrs. Prattis; finance, Mrs. M. Fischer; membership, Ralph Tue; youth, W. Stevenson and Dr. Robinson; publicity, Mrs. R. Tue; legislation, Mrs. Mason; Smyrna, Mrs. F. Polk; and Harrington, the Rev. Mr. Hackett.

First annual membership campaign of the branch is being conducted under the direction of Ralph Tue.

New Jersey: The Rev. Mr. Walter P. Offutt, NAACP church secretary, was guest speaker at the monthly meeting of the PLAINFIELD branch held in the Mt. Olive Baptist Church.

Mrs. Eva Feilds, chairman of the membership drive committee, reported the enrollment of 18 new members; Dr. Hobson has been appointed as chairman of a committee to investigate housing in Plainfield.

William McKnight, chairman of a special committee to investigate minstrel shows in the public high schools, reported on the findings of his committee. If there were mass protest, these shows could easily be stamped out.

New York: A testimonial tea in honor of Timothy Armstrong for being selected the first Negro worker in Lackawanna city hall was held in Friendship House in March. The occasion also honored Washington's birthday, National Brotherhood Week, and the 44th anniversary of the NAACP.

Mrs. S. Britt, president of the LACKAWANNA branch, presided and the speakers were Hon. Mayor Frank J. Sczygiel, the Rev. Mr. Henry Blount, the Rev. Mr. Charles Saunders, Police Chief Walter Kubisty, Mrs. Harry Sanbuchi, Joseph Edwards, Marie Harmon, and Thomas Crawford.

Three hundred delegates from 66 branches and 33 youth councils and college chapters participated in the discussions of ways and means of implementing the program of the NAACP at the EASTERN REGIONAL TRAINING CONFERENCE held in Freedom House, New York City, March 20-21. Branch leaders from eastern seaboard states joined with national officers in making plans for more effective development and application of the NAACP program. Speakers included Walter White, Clarence Mitchell, Herbert Wright, Lucille Black, Robert L. Carter, Jack Greenberg, Mrs. Constance B. Motley, June Shagaloff, Gertrude Gorman, Herbert Hill, and Elwood Chisholm of the national office.

Branch officers on the two-day program included Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia; Rev. Mr. J. E. Licorish, Jersey City; Thomas Brooks, Staten Island, N. Y.; Bravell Nesbitt, Elizabeth, N. J.; Andrew Wise, Norwalk, Conn.; Rev. Mr. Robert B. Fulton, Dr. Marvin B. Sussman, Barbara Soellner, S. Edward Gamarekian, Mrs. Emma Henry, and Luther Smith, all of Schenectady, N. Y.; Ella Baker, Jawn Sandifer, and Edward Jacko of New York; and Charles Shorter of Philadelphia.

Young people of the youth and college division attended seminars on the psychological aspects of discrimination and segregation, methods of implementing the anti-segregation fight, and on membership and fund-raising campaign techniques.

Among speakers at these sessions were Dr. Dan Dodson of New York University; Dr. Deborah Patridge of Queens College; Judge Hubert D. Delany, New York; Mrs. Juanita Mitchell, Baltimore; Mrs. Samuel Williams, Orange, N. J.; Wendell Foster, Jersey City; Marilyn Rock, Brooklyn; Margaret Harvey, Wilmington, Del.; Thelma Eastmond, Brooklyn; Franklin Williams, Jersey City; Cedric Clark, Dwight Lawrence and Susan Oreskes, New York; Audrey Taylor, Brooklyn; Eversley Vaughan, Philadelphia; Jewell Taylor, Radcliffe College; Timothy Taylor, Yale University; Rosalie King, New York; Elsie Gibbs, Perth Amboy, N. J.; and Adeline Blackman, Pittsburgh.

North Carolina: The WINSTON-SALEM branch has launched a campaign for 1,000 members. Mrs. Sarah Marsh, branch secretary, reports that the city has been divided into four communities for competitive purposes, and the community that reports the largest number of members in the drive will receive the Livia Anderson trophy; and the community reporting the largest amount of money in membership fees will win the Aldine Robinson trophy. The late Mrs. Anderson was for many years assistant secretary of the branch and very active in NAACP work. Mr. Robinson has provded a meetng place for the Winston-Salem Branch over a long period of years.

Minnesota: Richard Siegel of the Minneapolis Housing Authority was guest speaker at the March meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. Mr. Siegel reviewed the public housing program in Minneapolis, citing the gains already made and listing what still needs to be done to obtain adequate housing for all citizens.

L. Howard Bennett, branch vice-president, and Sidney Forbes, both attorneys and members of the branch legal redress committee, interviewed both the manager and the owner of the Bellevue Hotel, 1227 Hennepin Avenue, on March 5 relative to a complaint from a young couple who were refused lodging at the hotel recently.

It was the opinion of the legal redress committee that an employee of the hotel had discriminated against the complainants because of their race. The owner of the hotel promised that such a practice would not recur, and he backed up this promise with a forthright statement to the effect that it would continue to be the policy of his hotel to provide lodging for anyone, regardless of race, color, or creed.

Pennsylvania: Robert T. McCracken, chairman of the University of Pennsylvania's board of trustees, told the PHILADELPHIA branch that Dr. Merle Odgers should not be criticized for the exclusion of Negro orphans from Girard College, the institution which Odgers now heads.

Replying to a letter from branch officials questioning the board's consideration of Dr. Odgers for the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania, McCracken said that the will of Stephen Girard, under which the college operates, permits entry only to "male white orphans."

McCracken stated that he therefore feels "that there is no more reason for a Negro group to be offended than a female group."

In answer to McCracken's assertion Dr. Harry J. Greene and Charles A. Shorter, respectively president and executive secretary of the local branch said that they were not holding Dr. Odgers responsible for the exclusion of Negroes at the college.

They added, however, that they could not help but feel that the acceptance of this executive post "implies an agreement" with the situation, and that the state of the president's mind and position are unquestionably related to the policies of the college.

In further support of their "disturbance" about the possibility of Dr. Odgers becoming president of the University, the branch officials cited his record of being an active member of the "Committee of Ten" whose aim was to prevent Negroes from buying property in Girard Avenue.

The letter to McCracken pointed out that such facts cannot be contradicted by Dr. Odgers, and that neither can any explanation establish the "fitness" of a man who has demonstrated so blatantly his disregard for freedom and equality.

Provoked by a statement allegedly made during the hearing of Mrs. Lucille Shepard, the Philadelphia branch issued a sharp rebuke to Magistrate John F. Daily for a suggestion which might induce policemen to use their guns too quickly.

At the hearing for Mrs. Shepard, involving a minor traffic violation, Magistrate Daily allegedly commented that if the arresting officer had not been "levelheaded" he might have shot her, and that he would have been "justified" in doing so.

NAACP officials told Daily that such a statement was alarming in light of efforts being made in Philadelphia to curb excessive use of firearms. They said it was just last summer that they brought to the attention of the Commissioner of Police the general feeling in the community that the city's law enforcers are a little too quick on the draw.

The branch's officials added that it was not the policy of the NAACP to come to the defense of people who violate the law, but they feel that they should be concerned over a suggestion by a city official which could serve as an inducement to policemen to use their guns for trivial matters.

Mrs. Blanche Calloway Jones, prominent musician and civic leader, is campaign chairman of the Philadelphia branch 1953 membership drive which got underway on April 12.

In making the announcement Dr. Harry J. Greene, president of the branch, said the goal this year will be 12,000 members.

Upon accepting the enrollment drive leadership, Mrs. Jones recalled the assistance given her by the NAACP while she was touring the South a few years ago as an orchestra leader. She and a woman companion were arrested for violating the southern jim-crow law.

The NAACP intervened and won the case and the incident has remained, Mrs. Jones said, as an example of the NAACP's usefulness as a civil rights organization.

She holds membership in the Tioga-Nicetown League, of which she is membership chairman, and also serves as chairman of the Law Enforcement Committee for Juvenile Delinquency.

Among others who will play leading roles in the month-long drive are George Morris, permanently elected membership chairman and the following appointed area leaders:

Reba Bowie, West Philadelphia; Rosa Pitts and John Strothers, co-chairmen of the North Philadelphia area west of Broad Street; Mrs. Carlton Richards, South Philadelphia west of Broad; Mrs. Katie Greene and Lee Gregory, co-chairmen North Philadelphia east of Broad; the Rev. Mr. E. T. Woodard, South Philadelphia east of Broad; and Oscar Nickerson, suburban.

Tennessee: In March Judge Chester K. Hart denied bail to a 12-year-old Negro youth charged with criminal assault on a white woman in Belle Meade, a suburb of Nashville. Attorneys for the NASHVILLE branch, which is handling the defense, made immediate preparations to file an appeal with the state supreme court.

Age of the youth has been established by branch lawyers Alexander Lobby and Avon Williams as twelve years and not seventeen as the state has contended. Under Tennessee statutes a child between the ages of seven and fourteen is incapable of criminal intent.

The local branch entered the case after it was evident that the authorities and newspapers had over-played the racial angle in the news stories, and when it was obvious that there were so many fundamental questions not answered by the press reports. The conduct of the authorities in this case has been questioned.

The kick-off meeting of the 1953 membership campaign of the DAUPHIN COUNTY branch (Harrisburg) was held March 31, with the membership goal set at 1,000 members.

Present were Audreau Howard, chairman of educational committee; Dr. George Jones, branch president; Arthur Williams, campaign chairman; Mrs. Evelyn Cotton, chairman women's division in campaign; and Robert English, chairman men's division. Anderson Robinson, member executive committee, explained salient points needed in a successful membership drive.

Other members campaign committee include Mrs. Shirley Phillips, Mrs. Rachael Ransom, Samuel Thompson, and Raymond Curtis.

DID YOU KNOW —

That runaway slaves and illegal diamond hunters in 18th century Minas Gerais, Brazil, became natural allies?

This came about, explains Aires da Mata Machado Filho ("Negroes and Diamond Mines in Minas Gerais"), because both groups were living outside the law.

College and School News

Dr. E. E. O'Banion, head of the science department at PRAIRIE VIEW A. & M. COLLEGE, is modernizing a run-down 160 acre farm in Texas. The U. S. Department of Agriculture cites the O'Banion project as one worthy of emulation.

■

A. M. & N. COLLEGE of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, celebrated its 80th founder's day April 20-26, with the principal address being delivered by Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University at Houston.

■

February issue of *The Intercollegian* of the National Student Council YMCA is devoted to the intergration of minorities. One article, "History in the Making," tells of the epochal changes in intergroup relations which have come to the American college scene; and a guest editorial by Charles R. Lawrence discusses the "unfinished story of creating campus community."

■

TWO NEW YORK UNIVERSITY graduate students are now conducting research in land tenure systems throughout the world as the result of a grant received from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation of New York.

Dunstan I. Nicolle, a Ceylonese, and Ene O. Awa, a Nigerian, are the two students who have been awarded the fellowship. Mr. Awa, a graduate of Lincoln University (Pa.), was with the Nigerian government before coming to America; Mr. Nicolle, a graduate of the University of Ceylon, was formerly with the Ceylonese government.

■

The first open college week in the history of the municipal college was launched at the PUBLIC EDUCATION

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ASSOCIATION's annual dinner on April 30. Purpose of this week was to acquaint New Yorkers with their publicly supported institutions of higher learning.

■

XAVIER UNIVERSITY held competitive examinations for scholarships in modern languages, biological science, chemistry, physics, mathematics, English, fine arts, and vocal and instrumental music on April 18.

■

In March THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY began a twelve-session course, directed by Farida A. Wiley, for nature counselors and youth leaders. The course consists of nine discussion periods and three Saturday field trips.

A gift of securities valued at approximately $95,000 from John D. Rockefeller III, will enable the Museum to begin work on a unique series of exhibition halls devoted to the study of man. The new hall will be concerned with human evolution and biology and the relation of man to his environment, including the effect of nutrition, the mobilization of the organism against disease, and the vectors of disease.

■

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the division of trusteeship for the United Nations, was principal speaker on April 8 when HOWARD UNIVERSITY was admited into Phi Beta Kappa, national honorary fraternity. Authorization for installation of the new chapter was granted by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa at the group's triennial convention at the University of Ken-

tucky last September. Eleven students were inducted.

Current congressional investigation of Communism in education was opposed in a "Declaration of Principles" as the Conference on Academic Freedom in the United States came to an end at Howard on March 14.

The declaration represented the findings of the four-day parley which was sponsored by the division of social sciences at Howard in cooperation with the university's chapter of the American Association of University Professors. In the summation, which was drawn up by the division, the investigations were called "malicious, harmful, and detrimental, not only to education but to all free American institutions."

■

First semester honor roll at SHAW UNIVERSITY lists 76 students. Of this number 17 are freshmen; 10 sophomores; 16 juniors; and 30 seniors.

Annual spring tour of the university Chorale Society began on April 7. The choir is composed of 75 members, of which 41 wili embark on a northern tour to include Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, Trenton, Paterson, and Ossining, N. Y.

Shaw observed religious emphasis week in March, with an impressive list of speakers. Among them were Dr. Shelby Rooks of the St. James Presbyterian church New York City, Rosalie Oakes of the YWCA, Dr. Charles Copher of Gammon Theological Seminary, and Dr. Edwin Poteat of the Pullen Memorial Baptist Church Raleigh.

■

Chinese physicist Dr. Render Dah San Tuan is a recent addition to the faculty of KNOXVILLE COLLEGE. Dr. Tuan, a native of Shantung, China, is a specialist in physics and audio-visual aids instruction and completed his undergraduate training at Shantung Christian University. He holds a master of science and a doctor of

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■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE was host March 25-27 to the twenty-seventh annual conference of the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars, with approximately 150 officers representing more than 90 institutions present. Conference theme was "Education and its Promise for the Future."

Principal speakers were Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, professor of social sciences at Haverford college, and Dr. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence college at Bronxville, N. Y.

Dean's honor roll at Morgan lists 170 students. The senior class led in honors with 59; the juniors came second with 38; and the sophomores and freshmen were third and fourth respectively with 37 and 33.

Twenty-seven Morgan business education students have won awards from the United Business Education Association, a national organization, for proficiency in marketable office work.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host March 20 to the third annual statewide conference for teachers of trade and industrial subjects; on March 27-28, the annual drama festival for the high schools of Virginia.

The college concert band toured North Carolina April 13-17; the college *a cappella* choir toured the North April 15-19; and Samuel Thompson, baritone and Virginia State senior, was featured in the second of the college's senior recitals on April 12.

Dr. William J. Faulkner, dean of the memorial church at Fisk University, delivered the main address at

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ceremonies dedicating three new buildings at State. The buildings, dedicated on March 22, are the Mary E. Branch Hall—a residence hall for women named in the memory of Mary E. Branch, a personnel dean at the college 1905-1927; the Memorial Hospital named in memory of the college's honored dead in two world wars; and the John M. Gandy Hall—the home economics building named in memory of third State president, John M. Gandy (1914-1942).

■

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host April 16-17 to a statewide career conference, with a score of experts in as many occupational areas serving as consultants.

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, Virginia State president, was speaker for the seventh annual men's day program; Dr. Benjamin Fine, education editor of *The New York Times*, delivered the main address to the West Virginia Association of Higher Education during its two-day meet, April 3-4.

State has received $1,000 for four scholarships to provide financial assistance in the form of outright grants to four students of ability who are willing and anxious to work their way through college, but are financially unable to do so.

Madlyn Williams, instructor in English, and Mary Wheeler, instructor in natural science in the teacher training high school, have been nominated for General Education Board scholarships, according to acting president William Wallace. The following WVSC students are nominees for scholarships: Dorothy Johnson, Jean Johnson, and Clarence McKinnon. They were selected by the scholarship committee of the college.

■

Dr. Arthur D. Gray was inaugurated eighth president of TALLADEGA COLLEGE on April 10. Dr. Gray was presented to the college by Dr. Donald Cottrell of Ohio State, and the investiture was made by Dr. George Crawford of New Haven, Connecticut, a member of the Talladega trustee board.

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Three off-camps study groups have returned to the college with enthusiastic reports of their activities in Washington, New York, and other places. The experiences of off-campus study groups are extensions of the work studied in their classes.

Dr. Gray has appointed a new committee to study the future goals of Talladega. Dr. Gray said that it is necessary that the college undertake a study of the times and those facets of educational leadership for which Talladega should prepare itself.

■

ALBANY STATE COLLEGE observed founders' day on April 3, with Hoyt Harper of Kentucky State delivering the main address.

Recent speakers at Albany State include Dr. Melvin D. Watson of the Morehouse school of religion, who gave the introductory sermon during religious emphasis week; Bishop Hamilton West, coadjutor of Florida, who spoke on science and religion; J. E. Pierce, instructor in social science at Alabama State; and Dr. R. G. Lloyd of Savannah State.

The college recently displayed a loan collection of prize-winning oil paintings by outstanding contemporary artists. The exhibit was sponsored by the college chapter of Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society.

■

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE's director of public relations's Wilton C. Scott, represented his institution at the Columbia Scholastic Press Association meeting in New York City, March 12-14. He served as presiding officer of the conference on college press service on March 13, and as a

round-table discussion leader on March 14.

State's college minister, Andrew J. Hargrett, has done a study on "The Teaching of Religion in State Colleges for Negroes." Analysis of replies to his questionnaire show that twelve of twenty-two colleges supplying information offer courses in religion, while four colleges did not, and do not expect to offer such courses in the future. Five colleges evaded the question. Mr. Hargrett's study was published in *The Journal of Negro Education*.

■

On March 6 at the conclusion of a recent business trip that ended in Miami, Florida, Dr. B. R. Brazeal, academic dean and professor of economics at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE gave a talk on community problems and civil rights to a group of students at the University of Miami. The seminar discussion was followed by lunch and a group of students and teachers continued informal discussion of the problems raised in the seminar. The students were frank and constructive in their reactions, even when the question of admitting Negroes to the University of Miami was considered.

Records of Ford Scholarship holders at Morehouse reveal that these students are doing exceptionally well in their college work despite the fact that they have not finished high school, having completed, before enrollment at Morehouse, only the 10th or 11th grades. The twenty-nine Ford scholars earned a total of 32 A's, 70 B's, 50 C's, 5 D's, 12 Incompletes (which when cleared up may be A's or B's), and only 2 F's.

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The Ford Foundation-sponsored program was instituted in September, 1952, for exceptional young men under 16½ years of age who had not finished high school but who passed admission tests administered by the college. The Ford Foundation has recently extended the grant by $90,000; another $10,000 was given from another source, which brings the total to $100,000.

■

Religious emphasis week was observed at KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE, March 22-29, under the direction of Professor W. W. Jones and the college council on religion. General theme of the week was "Being a Christian in a Modern World."

■

A hundred and twenty-three high school writers from 19 states and the District of Columbia submitted entries in the third annual National Scholastic Essay Contest conducted by the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) school of journalism. The contest closed March 1.

A daily newspaper and two national magazines were chosen to receive the 1953 Lincoln school of journalism award for "significant contributions to better human relations." *The Christian Science Monitor, Collier's,* and the *Saturday Evening Post* were cited at a banquet on the campus on April 23.

The *Monitor* was chosen for its years of publishing articles concerning minority group affairs, domestic and foreign. The *Post* award went for the two recent articles on Negro education in the South and for two earlier pieces on the Negro soldier. *Collier's* was awarded for its recent article on "Racial Prejudice—How San Francisco Squelched It," and for an earlier article on Thurgood Marshall.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY reports the following campus activities: the staging of Oliver Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer", March 13-14; a concert by the mixed university choir of 80 voices, under the direction of Harry E. von Bergen, on March 15; a play-reading of Euripides' "The Trojan Woman" on March 19; and a Fiesta in Haiti, with Jean Léon Destine and his dancers, on April 24.

Eight $250 tuition scholarships will be offered incoming Fisk freshmen in 1953-54. The scholarships are offered by the Ray and Charles Newman Memorial Foundation in memory of Ray and Charles Newman Memorial Foundation in memory of Ray and Charles Newman,

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and are to be awarded to outstanding candidates who plan to do their major college work in the fields of social science, music, natural science, pre-medicine, and religion.

The "Charles S. Johnson School," a new elementary school named after Fisk president Dr. Johnson, was dedicated in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on March 20. This is the first time a school has been named in honor of the Fisk president.

■

Irving Turner, 29-year-old art teacher in Baltimore, Maryland, won the highest cash purchase award ($300) in ATLANTA UNIVERSITY'S 12th annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture and prints by Negro artists. Mr. Turner's prize-winning picture is a highly imaginative oil painting titled "Greek Dance."

Nine others received cash purchase awards and six were cited for honorable mention.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE observed charter day on March 19 with exercises built around the theme "Central State's Charter for the Future."

Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Central State president, delivered the Ohio State winter quarter commencement address on March 20.

"Religion as a vital part of college life" was the theme of the 1953 religious emphasis week observance which began March 29. A special Palm Sunday sermon and service were held in Galloway auditorium, with President Wesley speaking to the student body.

The second 1953 Central State concert series on March 16 was a Bach festival in Galloway auditorium featuring Maria Henderson, mezzo soprano, sophomore, from Newport News, Virginia; Harold beckford, tenor, freshman, from Wilberforce, Ohio; and William Armour, baritone, freshman, from Detroit, Michigan. Henry Garcia, well-known organist, presided at the console; and Harry Ailster and Wesley Stewart, both seniors, performed on the organ and violin, respectively. The combined men and women's glee clubs, under the direction of Mrs. Margaret Payne and Walter Smith, were the star atraction.

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That Louis XIV was godfather of the Negro prince Aniaba?
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STEMMING THE TIDE

(*Continued from page* 284)

to ever take another course here. This is not true.

She called on certain Negro leaders for help but they all refused. She then decided to write the university dean about her embarrassment, and the unfairness, and to try appealing to him by calling his attention to Christian and democratic principles. She wrote him, asking specifically if her scholastic record disqualified her from taking graduate courses at the University. Another nice reply was received, but the question was ignored.

Then Susan didn't know what to do. There seemed to be none to whom she could turn for help. At this point her strong religious training once more came to her aid. "I'm only dealing with white and Negro human beings," thought Susan. "I'll write the dean another nice letter,

but a very frank one letting him know that I must have fair treatment or else I'll take a different step. This time she immediately received a letter of admittance.

Susan calmly reclined in a big armchair, and took a retrospective view of her activities. Why should one who contends for justice be given such unfair treatment and false publicity by the whites, and harsh criticisms by some Negroes? She then comforted herself with the thought that such is usually the case with those who are stemming the tide.

NIGERIA IN TRANSITION

(*Continued from page* 272)

nothing so markedly different in the character of these peoples as to make their ultimate integration impossible. The Northerners may be Moslem in religion and "Oriental in outlook," but they share with the Southerners much that is characteristically African. The difference between East and West is more linguistic than cultural. In many instances ancient jealousies and prejudices are crumbling as the campaign against foreign rule calls for unity and common action. Mingling has been going on, perhaps more so now than formerly.

VILLAGES PREDOMINANT

Whether we go north, east or west, the village is still dominant. Walled or fenced compounds or many thatched houses remain its chief feature. But the migration of young people to the towns has disrupted this manor-like arrangement of village life as it was constituted a generation or two ago. The same movement has adversely affected the village economy. Where the land was formerly tilled by cooperative, community labor, hiring has been forced upon the farmer. Unfortunately, many cannot afford to pay the labor cost and have to reduce cultivation to the minimum and much of the land is left uncultivated. Consequently, farm production has fallen and prices have soared.

In spite of these changes, Nigeria still feeds her people. And although few are rich and many are poor, no one dies of hunger. Poverty in Nigeria, as in other West African countries, is a relative term. Yet the standard of living is frightfully low. The worker still receives a starvation, exploitative wage, varying from 35¢ per day for an unskilled laborer to 90¢ for the skilled.

Educationally, the country is appallingly backward. Probably less than twelve per cent of the population is literate. In the North conditions are at their worst. Of the children of school age in that region, probably no more than two per cent are receiving instruction along modern lines. In the South the percentage is not higher than six. There is no public school system. Parents and guardians pay for their children's education from the kindergarten to any grade they can afford. Where there are two or more children in a family and it is financially possible to send some of them to school, preference is given to boys. The reason for this choice stems from the traditional belief that men are the more

useful members of the family from the economic standpoint.

It is in this matter of education, rather than in the saving of souls, that mssionary agencies deserve the eternal gratitude of the Nigerian people. Perhaps more than ninety per cent of Nigerian education is in their hands. With the paltry grant-in-aid doled out grudgingly to them by the government, missionary societies of different competing denominations have been able to maintain schools of various grades and varying degrees of efficiency throughout the country. In the North their activities are extremely limited owing to the hostility and reaction of the Moslem religion. This fact accounts, in the main, for the incredible rate of illiteracy in that part of the country.

Six years ago, before this writer left Nigeria, only one senior high school served the entire Northern Provinces with a population of more than sixteen millions, and more than twice the total area of the country. The Kaduna College, as the high school is called, was then admitting about a dozen students a year. The school is financed by the Northern Native Administration, a counterfeit form of local government in Nigeria established by Lord Lugard, the first British administrator, and perpetuated by his successors.

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

Besides the missionary operated schools and a few secondary ones maintained by the Central Government, a goodly number of schools of all grades is run by Nigerian educators themselves on their own initiative. There are also elementary schools established by regional Native Administrations. But none of these schools offers free education, except in a few instances where government scholarships are available. The only one institution of higher learning in Nigeria was opened in 1948, nearly fifty years after the Union Jack was officially hoisted over the country. The Ibadan University College, located at Ibadan, the largest city in Central Africa, has a little over four hundred undergraduate students.

Leaving the problem of education, there is one thing which, as visitors to Nigeria, we cannot fail to observe: it is the health of the people. In the absence of planned control, different kinds of diseases — leprosy, yaws, small-pox, malaria, intestinal parasites—abound. Yet medical facilities and well-organized public health services are among the many things of which the country is most in need. Hospitals and dispensaries are sometimes a hundred or more miles apart. The percentage of the population which receives some medical attention is negligible. Millions go without medical treatment because they cannot pay the bill. The expectant mother still depends on the wisdom of the ages for the safe delivery of her child. Not a few die at childbirth. Infant mortality is still a national problem whose solution remains a challenge.

The much-defamed "medicine-man" still performs an important function in the matter of life and death; and in spite of what western observers have to say of him in ridiculous terms, he cannot be despised in all respects. Inaccurate in

diagnosis, untrained for delicate surgical operation, he is unsurpassed in his knowledge of curative root, bark, and leaf. With this useful knowledge, he at least saves more lives than he destroys in the practice of his science and art. Where distance or fee prohibits the consultation of an M.D., and M.M. remains the only alternative, and it is sheer arrogance to despise and ridicule the latter, however, unscientific his methods.

BRITISH RULE

This, then, is the brief picture of Nigeria in her second half-century under the colonial rule of benevolent England. In fairness to imperial Great Britain, it must be conceded that the canvass is by no means all blurred. The country has seen peace and tranquility under British control. But imperialism has a method, and economic exploitation is always at its best in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility.

All things considered, the British record in Nigeria cannot be called too bad. But experience has shown that no nation can be a mother to another, least of all needy England. Between Nigeria and Great Britain the relationship, at its best, has been unequal; at its worst, it is exploitative. From these considerations the current surging spirit of nationalism that is sweeping the country may be said to derive its strength. The future relation of Great Britain and Nigeria depends largely on the willingness of the British to be satisfied with the high dividend they have so far received from their undisguised colonial venture. No matter what happens in the next few years, Nigeria is a country of which more and more will be heard with each year passing year.

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